

One must be careful not to confuse this buongo with byiko bya nyonyi nyina, an expression frequently heard. The latter includes any payment to the mother and includes the goat and the chickens as well as the buongo discussed above and others. The word used in this case is not byiko, singular iki, "perception," but rather byiko, singular wiko, "price, value" and derived from the verb -ika, "to set a price."

3) Lakufi: a brother or a cousin of the wife asks for a konga. He beats the gang (Lakufi) in order to make noise and thus force the husband to satisfy him. That is how this buongo seems to have originated. In practice people simply demand a [147] present. The racket can sometimes last for quite a while. But the elders do not allow the gathering to be disrupted if the husband does not have precisely the gift that would give satisfaction.

4) Sakufi, or borufi: the woman's brothers stick a piece of the trunk of a banana tree (borufi) into the ground, so that young relatives of the husband may shoot arrows (sakufi) at it. These are then removed by young members of the wife's family who, at the present time, are sometimes given money -- 5 francs, for instance.

5) Wamidi: prisoner's rope, that is, a rope to which war prisoners were formerly tied, two by two (a system now limited for prisoners of the colonial law enforcement agencies and administration). In the past the patriarch, or head of the family, demanded a konga or a knife as indemnity against the possibility that he or members of his family might be imprisoned as a result of a war caused by the woman being married. Nowadays the chiefs set up by the administration and given the rights of family heads by the European authority have also claimed rights to this buongo whose significance, purpose, and even name have completely changed as a result. It is now called bonyodia w'ukani, "the chief's chain." It is clear that this payment has become something which it was not meant to be.

6) Efika: a heavy wooden fork, fastened to the neck. This is a present claimed by the mother, by one of the father's other wives, or by a wife of the woman's brother, against the possibility that they may have to undergo torture by means of the fork because of the women whose bride price is being paid. This could happen if she were

585⁴ used by her father, Nkambe ŋy'ontole of Bolifola (Bonjebu), to pay a
607 supplement for his wife Bekambe. On this account the latter became
her daughter's nkita. The double bride price served to obtain the wife
Lintamba for Hofi y'unguma, Bekambe's brother and MBIŋ's uncle,
and Lintamba thus belonged to both mother and daughter, but the two
did not fight about the matter.

One person can have two or more nkita, especially if her
bride price is so large that it can be used to obtain several wives.
Such is the case of Mputŋ (Solia) of the Baŋŋa Mhangŋ of Bonganda
(Bonkomo). Her first husband, Mpinda of Lefef, paid 40 rings and a
slave. With this sum Mputŋ's uncle, [172] Mhangŋ ŋy'akmo (who had
settled with the Elŋŋŋ i'momo, his mother's clan), paid the bride
price for Bonjŋŋ of Mŋŋŋŋ. (1) In the meantime, Mpinda was

1. During a war against the Mŋŋŋŋ, this
woman had been captured by the Elŋŋŋ,
who wanted to sacrifice her to the ikwŋŋ
at a feast which terminated the mourning.
But Mhangŋ begged the notables to let her
live because he loved her very much and
wanted to marry her.

killed in a fight with his brother, Holo. Mputŋ married Elŋŋŋŋ,
Mpinda's nephew, but then he died after two or three years of mar-
riage. She was then married to Lokonga of Lŋŋŋ (Nkŋŋ), whose life
was not much longer, and finally to Bakutu (Boniface) of Bombŋŋ
w'ŋkenda (Besombŋ, Bombwanja), who paid a considerable bride
price. A part of this bride price was a compensation to the family
of the last husband, and another portion was used by Mhangŋ to ac-
quire as wife, Bengŋŋ of Ekkŋŋŋ. By means of the bride price
paid by Lokonga, Mhangŋ (Joseph), a first cousin of Mputŋ, obtained
the wife Bolŋŋŋ (who came from the londa). Lastly, Bakutu gave
Bonjŋŋŋŋ (Christophe) of Lowŋŋŋŋ, a distant cousin of Mputŋ, the
necessary bride price to marry Embongŋmbembe of Lŋŋŋ, who on
this account also became the nkita of Mputŋ, though not in the strict
sense of the term. Mputŋ thus has four nkita, although not all of them
are living.

62 constitutes a bride price, it does not bear that name because its legal
 542 significance is not the same. The specific name for this particular
 50 payment is longyambika, from -yanga, "to add something new"
 and mbika, "path." Thus the new husband adds a new alliance. The
 verb yanga or yanga is also used under other circumstances: for a new
 tile or leaf that is added on to a damaged spot on a roof, for a patch
 on a piece of clothing, or for something that has been newly intro-
 duced. The term therefore seems to indicate that what is involved is
 not a new marriage but rather a modification grafted on to the old one.
 Furthermore, the term is often used pejoratively. One may thus sup-
 pose that this custom is not very ancient, but of course the evidence
 is not sufficient.

512 It is apparent from the above that the purchase of a woman is
 42 a difficult and expensive operation. A kind of second bride price
 (longyambika) and a second wife (inkambika) cost quite a fortune.
 In the past the purchaser also had to pay indemnities to the families of
 men killed in combat (he might have had to pay as much as 100 rings,
 for the price of one "corps" was 15 to 20 hakonga, the monetary value
 [424] of a man) (1). One gets the impression that, though for reasons un-

1. Five dead were an enormous number in
 this sort of "war."

known to us the tribes in question permitted the exchange of women
 in their laws and customs, they did so unwillingly, and that the per-
 sons in authority increased the difficulties, so to speak, in order to
 frighten the amateurs and to reduce the number of cases to an inescap-
 able minimum.

One might wonder why men do not hesitate in the face of such
 great financial difficulties. Psychologically, it seems entirely plausible
 that a man who is in love with another's wife and has the necessary
 wealth would in his passion throw himself into such an adventure.
 Probably that is how the practice originated. But this likelihood does
 not explain the existence of a purchase, since the breaking of the first
 marriage and the commitment to a new one could just as well be

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685 If one of the wife's relatives were found guilty of stealing from his (or her) relative by marriage, or even from one of the latter's relatives, the family tribunal was assembled. Out of consideration for the ties of kinship between the thief and the wife and in order not to sadden her and her family, the guilty person was not sold as a slave. He was simply turned over to the woman [293] and her family, and they were told: "Here he is; he has been found guilty of theft and should have been reduced to slavery. Out of respect for you, however, we are not selling him; we are rolling (-kilimola) him toward you. Take him as bride price and add him to the sum of the bosongo." Thus the matter was settled in a friendly fashion. If subsequently there was a divorce, the wife's family had to restore not only the bride price that had been paid but also an additional slave for the member of their group that the husband had yielded in this fashion. Thus, the transaction was not at all a fictional one.

Conversely, the same procedure was adopted in relation to a relative of the husband who had violated the rules of justice to the detriment of a member of the family related by marriage. But in that case the extradition of the guilty party was considered as the addition of a slave to the amount of the nkomb.

[539] Hence the saying: bokiló ntáwáka ndá ngond'éy'ókanga, "a parent-in-law cannot die in the forest of his relatives by marriage."

The situation is no different nowadays. The only change is that, instead of giving back a slave if a dissolution of the marriage occurs, the equivalent value is paid in copper rings, etc.

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606 The same customs governed conduct toward prisoners of war. For instance, in the course of a war Eale became the master of Bombolo, whose cousin is married to Iloko, a close relative of Eale. Iloko interceded with Eale in order to obtain Bombolo's freedom, and Bombolo was sent home but was to be considered as bosongo. The liberated prisoner thus was classed as a slave given as part of the bride price, as in the preceding case, and all the appropriate rules were followed.

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37 A slave woman may be chosen as a favorite. Since this choice is a matter of preference, there is no reason why not. This is not true of the rank of boldimbo, which can never be attained by a slave, as an examination of this eminent position clearly shows. The following slave women are cited among those who were made nkondé by their husbands: Bolonge by Bakengé ba Lokolf of Nseké; Boketu by Ekanyaka éy'ondókó of Etóontálé; Ntsimbo by Bombengéla of Etóontálé.

When a polygamist felt a very special love for a slave, and had the means to do so, he would enfranchise her and then pay a regular bride price for her. In order for this to happen the woman's family had to intervene, either on its own initiative or by invitation of the husband. Once the ransom was paid, the woman was free. She returned home, and her husband followed her to pay the bride price; thus she became a regular wife on the same basis [357] as any other woman. The procedure was the same whether the slave had been captured personally by the husband or had been bought or acquired as part of a bride price or by some other means.

Such was the case of Boldimbo, daughter of Boékwa of Boéndé (Bombwanja), who was taken by Esalé of Ekdikola and bought by Efoloko of Lofelf. She was enfranchised at her father's initiative, and he subsequently married her off in a regular fashion. Another case was that of Etaka, daughter of Elongama éa Longombá of Besombó, who was married to Bonyongela of Bowélé. During a war she was taken prisoner by Betdiká of Ekdikola, who wanted to marry her properly and therefore contacted Elongama. The latter arranged the matter of the ransom and took his daughter with him. Then Betdiká went to Besombó to pay the bride price. (1)

- [727]
1. Almost all slave women were reduced to their condition, directly or indirectly, because of a war. If they were already married, their marriages were considered as dissolved. Under the circumstances it

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[672]

could not be otherwise. In such matters each group took care only of its own interests; and none of the procedures usually accompanying the dissolution of a marriage were observed. However, the husband was entitled to an indemnity, in the form of persons or valuables, from the member of his clan who had fomented the war and was held responsible for all its consequences, whatever the way in which he had provoked it. If necessary, this member could be forced to pay. If he did not have the means to pay indemnities, he himself was reduced to slavery, if the influence of the families involved did not prevent this occurrence. When the woman was enfranchised and a new bride price was paid for her, her family was expected to reimburse her former husband.

Since, at present, slavery has been abolished, ransom can no longer be paid. A master who wishes to enfranchise a slave woman who has remained faithful to him, simply gives her family the bride price and then goes with his wife to her home to receive the dowry.

Article VI. Life in a Harem

595^x Wives of the same husband address each other among themselves as bakalé (sing. bokalé). Their husband calls them all basif, [358] "wives." All except for true slaves are married by means of a bride price. A woman's sons call their mother's bakalé basif, "wives," but out of respect toward the older ones

58^A tonjókéké! (1) "Your deceased parents! Pay the bride price for me,
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1. Or analogous terms.

do not chase me away!" In such circumstances, the insult of invoking a man's deceased parents is like an ultimatum; it imposes an obligation which the person thus addressed cannot escape. (2)

2. See Chapter VI, Article V, 4,
Appendix.

Therefore the man in question could not send the woman away; he had to take her under his protection. He called his kin group and explained the situation to them. If his close relatives agreed -- and it was their duty and honor to -- they instructed him to pay the bride price for her. But the abandoned husband intervened to prevent this transaction. Either he declared war, or he begged his rival to return his wife to him. If he took the first course, the two adversaries paid indemnities for the warriors fallen in battle on their respective sides after the hostilities were terminated; then when peace was concluded, the matter was settled all the same, and the woman succeeded in her purpose. If the husband took the second alternative, and the man who received the fugitive was disposed to yield to his request, the latter would ask the husband for a payment (nyongo) that would free him from the obligation imposed on him by the wife's "oath." This payment was a sort of indemnification for the insult and for the blemish on his honor. Therefore the amount was fairly high: 20 to 25 copper rings, equaling the price of a slave.

The woman was surrendered either because the man to whom she had addressed herself did not love her, or because he and his family did not want to get involved in any disputes.

For the husband, war was a bad expedient; he would necessarily lose. The correct and ideal procedure was to try and have his wife returned to him. This fact is an indication that recourse to arms was an infraction of the law rather than a legitimate means. [392]

It could also happen that the man kept the woman but did not immediately pay the bride price. This occurred either if a

178 her proposal, he collects the bride price and produces it before the
586^x chief. With the consent of this authority, he pays it to the woman's
577 parents, who make restitution to the husband. (1)

1. See also Chapter III, Article VI.

586^x
727 3) War. The last of the special ways in which a marriage
may be broken is the following: If a woman were captured in a war
and not freed, thus becoming a slave, by that very fact her marriage
was broken. Under the circumstances it could not have been other-
wise, since each group was concerned only with its own interests.
As we have seen in the preceding chapter, the slave was incorporated
into the harem of one of the members of the clan who took her
prisoner, or she was sold to some man for this purpose. If her real
husband did not have the means to free her -- and we are speaking
under that assumption, for if he did the union would not be dissolved --
he was unable to oppose what was done. Nevertheless, he was en-
titled to indemnification by the member of the clan who was re-
sponsible for the war, and he could use force to support his claim.
If the woman were freed by her family, and her owner then paid them
a bride price in order to contract a regular marriage, the former
husband had a right to a return of the bride price paid by him. (See
Chapter VII, Article V).

586^x In concluding this account, we should note that a woman who
has left her husband to go to another man may return to the first
one [394] after a fairly long time has elapsed. There may be two
reasons for such a return:

Either the woman does not find what she was looking for with
her new husband and finds her hopes deceived, or in comparing her
present situation with the life she had previously led she regrets her
action. Knowing the love her former husband always bore her, she
risks returning to him, and usually she is not rejected.

Or the new husband finds that after having paid part of the
bride price he is unable to fulfill the rest of his obligation. Since
a woman does not wish to be a wife without bride price -- outside
of modern exceptions -- she turns back.

586^x In most cases the husband and his parents-in-law try to continue their relationship despite the breakup. If the woman persists in not wanting to go back to her husband despite the pressure, the entreaties, and even the curses of her family, the parents substitute a sister or relative (bankitsa) for her, unless, of course, no relative is available. For in that case they must resign themselves to the restitution of the bride price and a permanent dissolution of the relationship. No new bride-price payment is made for the substitute, as the original bride price is valid for the new union, as we have explained in Chapter III, Article IV.

Finally, there is an exception to the general principle: there is no restitution of the bride price if for some reason there is equivalent compensation of some sort. Nowadays this exception is seldom encountered, as will be apparent from the following details: for example, such an exception occurs if the right of ikákelo has been exercised, or if the wife of one of the relatives-in-law has been seized. Even if the amount of one bride price is larger than the other, the excess is not returned. Nor is there any obligation to restore the bride price if the wife has been reduced to slavery or has been killed. There are also the cases of the dissolution of marriage cited in Chapter V, Article IV, 2, no. 2, example 17, and in Chapter VI, Article V, 4. If the breakup caused a war and the number killed on each side was considerable (three, five, six corpses), the matter rests there; when the families of those killed have been indemnified, there is no more talk of reimbursement. Occasionally, an influential and rich man who at the same time was spiteful or excessively proud, would take up arms a second time. He claimed that he would not stop until he had the bride-price valuables in his hands. Such behavior met with disapproval everywhere, and even his own family tried to stop him. If the opposing clan was sufficiently strong and stubborn in the struggle, the husband obtained nothing at all. But the desire to get revenge or to be famous as a warrior sometimes caused a man to scorn financial losses. Finally, according to the notions of our natives, a case of enmity between two clans (which we have cited in relation to a woman's application for refuge) should be included in the category of compensations.

THE NKUMU OF THE TUMBA

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must go to the *monkiki* for their fight, this being the location of the houses belonging to the sons of the *nkumu*. The penalty for breaking this law is a fine, and if no fine were forthcoming hanging used to be the alternative. If a quarrel arises elsewhere and one party wishes to avoid fighting, he may retire to the *mongo* and thus be safe. No trees in the *mongo* may be climbed. There are, however, privileged classes exempt from all such rules, and these embrace a good many people. Thus, the mother of twins, twins, Barwa, *maomi*, and all members of the *molembi* and *ekopo* are exempt from the laws of the *mongo*. If any of these commit acts which are illegal for those coming under the law, they are not held guilty, but their actions will not be condoned; they will be considered breaches of good conduct, and will be dealt with informally; the parties will be quietly reprimanded, and adjured to observe the proprieties of conduct. For outsiders breaking the laws of the *mongo*, what corresponds to a warrant is necessary. It is necessary to catch the culprit in the act and hale him before the *nkumu*. The *nkumu* himself cannot do this, nor can any of the *ekopo*; it must be done by one of the *molembi*, and so if the *nkumu* sees someone infringing the law he will try to get one of the *molembi* on the spot in a hurry in order to catch the offender.

In war,¹ it is the *molembi* who is most active in preparations, but the *nkumu* will accompany his party to battle, keeping well in the rear, and surrounded by good fighters. He does not wear his *montolo* but puts on the informal hat. If an *nkumu* were captured, he would never be tortured or killed as were other prisoners, unless he specifically sought such a fate. He could be ransomed, and his captors would beseech him to let his people ransom him, but in many cases an *nkumu* would invite death rather than endure the shame of being yielded up as a prisoner of war.

An *nkumu* is always addressed by a double clap of the hands, and will not reply to anyone rude enough to speak to him first. In answer to the clap he replies with a word of wisdom expressed in an aphorism or proverb. Such a reply, however, is common to all elders, who have their favourite aphorisms ready for any who pay them special honour. Anything the *nkumu* says must be answered not by the customary *nko buiko* (even so) which ordinary people use, but with the special word, *bianga*, which is reserved exclusively for replying to an *nkumu*, and means the same thing.

When the hour of death approaches, an *nkumu* is attended by his Batwa. It is a rule that he must not die a natural death, and near the end, while he is still conscious and can still speak, all 'free men' clear out and leave the Batwa pygmies to their task of tying the *nkumu* very tightly with the fibrous yam vines known as *menkiki*. Often this secure lashing in the sitting posture, known as *ilima*, is sufficient to finish the *nkumu* off, but sometimes the work is expedited by twisting his neck.² Then it is announced that he is dead, *ankilwa*, this being in contradistinction to the customary phrase *ankoma molohe* used of the death of ordinary people. While the latter means

¹ Owing to the lack of tribal cohesion, warfare was not on any considerable scale. The method of warfare consisted in sending groups of young men to fight first, the elders only joining in when one side began to get the worst of the fray. Victors and vanquished in such fights were designated 'husband' and 'wife' respectively, and members of the one group were free to come and go in the villages of

the other, and even to help themselves to food. In future wars 'husband' and 'wife' were supposed to combine against their common foes.

² Besides *nkumu*, elderly and rich men, fathers and mothers of twins, and twins are buried in the *ilima* or sitting posture, in contradistinction to the *monsepo* position which is the recumbent one used for ordinary people and slaves.